

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, IS, US
SUBJECT: RABBI ARTHUR HERTZBERG'S INTERVIEW IN MA'ARIV
ON U.S.-ISRAEL RELATIONS

1. RABBI ARTHUR HERTZBERG GAVE LENGTHY
INTERVIEW JULY 1 TO MA'ARIV IN WHICH HE SAYS
HE IS CARRYING A MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER
BEGIN FOR BRZEZINSKI. FULL TEXT OF INTERVIEW
FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN TEXT:
"I TOLD PROF. BRZEZINSKI A FEW DAYS AGO, AND I SHALL TELL
PRESIDENT CARTER: CAN'T TURN ISRAEL INTO A SECOND VIETNAM:"

3. HE MET WITH PRES. CARTER SOME WEEKS BACK AT THE WHITE HOUSE,
JUST FOR A BRIEF TALK. THEY WILL PROBABLY TALK AT GREATER LENGTH
SOON. PROF. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER ON NATIONAL S
SECURITY AFFAIRS, IS A CLOSE FRIEND OF HIS. IN THE TEN YEARS
PRECEDING HIS APPOINTMENT AS THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISER,
HE AND ARTHUR HERTZBERG WERE BOTH PROFESSORS AT COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY (THE FORMER ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE
LATTER - HISTORY). HE MET WITH PROF BRZEZINSKI (HE CALLS HIM
"ZBIG") FOR A LONG TALK JUST A FEW DAYS AGO. CARTER'S ADVISER
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ASKED HIM TO UNDERTAKE A MISSION: A MESSAGE FOR PRIME MINISTER
MENAHEM BEGIN. HERTZBERG IS NOT AUTHORISED TO REVAL THE ACTUAL
CONTENTS OF THE MESSAGE. PRINCIPALLY, PROF BRZEZINSKI, ON
BEHALF OF THE ADMINISTRATION, REQUESTS THE PRIME MINISTER TO ABSTAIN
FROM CERTATING ANY NEW "FAITS ACCOMPLIS" IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA
(MEANING SETTLEMENTS), AND FROM MAKING POLITICAL DECLARATIONS
WHICH N THE ONE HAD SAY THAT "EVERYTHING IS OPERN TO NEGOTIATIONS"

AND THAT THIS EXTENDS TO JUDEA AND SAMARIA, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND DETERMINE THAT THERE WILL BE NO TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE IN THESE AREAS AND ISRAEL WILL NOT WITHDRAW FROM THEM. THIS IS THE MESSAGE THAT PROF. HERTZBERG, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, HANDED TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

4. IN TIMES LIKE THESE, WITH RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE U.S. UNDERGOING DISRUPTIONS, WITH ALL THE "CLARIFICATIONS OF EXPLANATIONS" AND ATTEMPTS TO TONE DOWN THE GRAVITY OF THE "MISUNDERSTANDINGS", ALL THESE CAN ONLY ADD TO THE GROWING UNEASE, PART DOUBT AND PART APPREHENSION, AND THE SITUATION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH LEADERS IS FAR FROM COMFORTABLE. THEY ARE APPREHENSIVE AT THE THOUGHT THAT THEIR EXPLICIT INVOLVEMENT IN ISRAEL'S CAUSE WILL PLACE THEM IN A POSITION OF CONFRONTATION VIS-A-VIS THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION. PROF. HERTZBERG - RABBI, ACADEMIC, A VERY LIKEABLE MAN, EXTREMELY PLEASANT AND MODERATE IN HIS OPINIONS - IS NO EXCEPTION. AS A GOOD JEW, WHO HOLDS ISRAEL AND HER CAUSE DEAR TO HIS HEART, HE IS PREPARED TO ARGUE LONG AND LOUDLY WITH THE ADMINISTRATION LEADERS - BUT HE HAS ONE REQUEST: "PLEASE DON'T MAKE ENEMIES OF THEM."

5. Q. PROF. HERTZBERG - EVEN THOUGH YOU HAVE NOT SAID SO OPENLY, YOU WERE ONE OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S SUPPORTERS, DURING HIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN...

6. A. NO. I ABSTAINED FROM IDENTIFYING MYSELF WITH, OR FROM UNCLASSIFIED

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ANY KIND OF SUPPORT OF ANY OF THE CANDIDATES OR EITHER OF THE PARTIES. I FELT THAT AS A JEWISH LEADER I HAD TO REMAIN NEUTRAL AND BALANCED. IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE TO ME WHETHER THERE IS A REPUBLICAN OR A DEMOCRAT IN THE WHITE HOUSE. ONLY AN EXPLICIT MANNER OF NON-IDENTIFICATION CAN OPEN THE WHITE HOUSE GATES TO US, AND JEWISH ORGANISATIONS MUST NOT BECOME KNOWN AS IDENTIFYING WITH A U.S. POLITICAL PARTY OR WITH A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, WE WERE STRENGTHENED IN THIS BELIEF BY PROF. BRZEZINSKI. HE, OF COURSE, AS AN OUTSPOKEN SUPPORTER OF CARTER AND THEREFORE INTERESTED IN OBTAINING WIDESPREAD BACKING FOR HIS CANDIDATE. BUT WHEN WE INVITED HIM, BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, TO A MEETING WITH THE DIRECTORATE OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS AND WITH THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS, AND ASKED HIM WHETHER HE BELIEVED THERE WERE BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WHERE SUPPORT OF ISRAEL WAS CONCERNED, HE TOLD US: A MAJOR POWER SUCH AS THE U.S. IS LIKE A HUGE SHIP AT SEA. IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO DRASTICALLY CHANGE ITS DIRECTION..

7. Q. BUT PEOPLE CAN CHANGE THEIR DIRECTION...HAS BRZEZINSKI HIMSELF NOT CHANGED HIS? HAS HE NOT BECOME A SUPPORTER OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE?

8. A. HE WAS AMONG THOSE WHO COMPILED THE BROOKINGS REPORT, WHICH IS A NEW AND NOT MUCH CHANGED VERSION OF THE "ROGERS PLAN". DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THE U.S. BRZEZINSKI SAID THAT HE WAS HESITANT ON THE SUBJECT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE. FROM MY LAST TALK WITH HIM, A FEW DAYS AGO, I UNDERSTOOD THAT HE IS STILL HESITANT AND STILL HAS NOT REACHED A FINAL DECISION ON THIS QUESTION. HE TOLD ME THAT HE IS NOT EVEN SURE IF THE ARABS THEMSELVES, I.E. THE LEADERS OF THE ARB COUNTRIES, ACUTALLY WANT AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN SATE. THEY ALSO REALISE THAT THIS WOULD BE A RADICAL PLO STATE, WHICH WOULD INTRODUCE A NEW DIMENSION INTO THE TENSION AND FERMENT OF THE M.E. AND, GIVEN CERTAIN CRICUMSTANCES, COULD PROVE UNCOMFORABLE TO THE ARAB COUNTRIES.

9. Q. ARE YOU DISAPPOINTED BY PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECLARATIONS
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AND STANDS, AND DO YOU SEE THEM AS A GRAVE REGRESSION IN RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE U.S. AS THEY EXISTED IN THE PAST?

10. A. THIS IS A COMPLEX MATTER, VERY INVOLVED... THERE ARE SEVERAL THINGS HERE. SINCE THE SIX-DAY WAR, IN 1967, THERE HAS NOT BEEN ANY U.S. ADMINISTRATION THAT DID NOT SUPPORT THE ROGERS PLAN, ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. THERE HAVE BEEN VARIOUS WAYS OF SHOWING THIS SUPPORT, AND DECLARATIONS MADE AT VARIOUS TEIMS, EXPRESSING SUCH SUPPORT. BUT THE BASIC POSITIONS HAVE NOT CHANGED, EVEN IF THE PLAN ITSELF HAS BEEN SHELVED, ONLY TO SUBSEQUENTLY APPEAR UNDER ANOTHER NAME - THE "BROOKINGS REPORT". DR. HENRY KISSINGER, FOR TACITCAL REASONS, WANTED TO BLUR THIS PROGRAMME, PLAY IT DOWN. THE RESENT ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES THAT THIS CANNOT BE DEON, SHOULD NOT BE DONE,BUT BOTH ISRAEL AND THE ARABS SHOULD BE LCEARLY TOLD THAT THESE ARE THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF U.S. POLICY. SO THERE IS NO QUESTION HERE OF DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION, WHICH IS CONCERNED ABOUT A SERIOUS ENERGY CIRISIS.

11. Q. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE "BROOKINGS REPORT"
AND OF THE PRINCIPLES IN AMERICA'S WAY OF SOLVING THE M.E. CONFLICT?

12. A. I OBJECT TO IT VIGOROUSLY, AND ARGUE WITH THE ADMINISTRATION LEADERS MOST VEHEMENTLY IN THIS RESPECT, IN ORDER TO MAKE THEM SEE THAT IT IS A NEGATIVE WAY, WHICH CANNOT LEAD TO PEACE. I TELL THEM AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY THAT THE SETTING UP OF A PALESTINIAN STATE, OR A "NATIONAL HOME" FOR THE PALESTINIANS, NOT ONLY WILL NOT GUARANTEE THE U.S. THE OIL IT REQUIRES, BUT WILL DEFINITELY JEOPARDISE U.S. INTERESTS SINCE IT WILL PERMANENTLY UNDERMINE - WITHHOLD FROM THE MIDDLE EAST - THE STABILITY IT NEEDS.

13. Q. AND THE ADMINISTRATION LEADERS NO DOUBT ASK YOU HOW OIL
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SUPPLIES FROM THE ARAB WORLD CAN BE GUARANTEED, AT PRICES
THAT WILL NOT CAUSE A COLLAPSE OF THE WESTERN ECONOMY?

14. A. THIS IS WHERE I SEE THE FUNDAMENTAL POINT OF OUR STRUGGLE,
THE BACKBONE OF OUR INFORMATION CAMPAIGN; A SEPARATION MUST BE
MADE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE OIL NEEDS* I TELL ALL THE ADMINISTRATION
HEADS IN THE U.S. THAT THERE IS NO CONNECTION BETWEEN THE TWO.
IT IS NOT ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE THAT CAUSED THE ARABS TO WISH
TO BECOME WEALTHY FROM THEIR OIL. NOT IN THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL
LIES THE REASON FOR THE ARABS' DESIRE TO EXPLOITE THEIR OIL
RESOURCES AS A POLITICAL WEAPON. ON THE CONTRARY* IF ISRAEL HAD
NOT EXISTED IN THE M.E., U.S. INTEREST IN THE REGION, INCLUDING
THE DEPENDENCE ON ARAB OIL, WOULD HAVE BEEN FAR LESS PROTECTED,
LESS ASSURED AND MORE EXPOSED TO ALL KINDS OF EXTORTIONISM -
POLITICAL AND MATERIAL. THE OIL GODS, BLOWN UP BY THEIR RAPID
RICHES AND ENORMOUS SENSE OF POWER, ARE NOT POPULAR WITH THE
AMERICANS. WE - BOTH ISRAEL AND U.S. JEWRY - MUST UTILISE THIS
IN ORDER TO SEVER THE LINK BETWEEN OIL AND ISRAEL. THE AMERICANS
MUST REALIZE THAT IF THE OIL PRICE GOES
UP AND HITS AT THEIR NATIONAL ECONOMY--
EVEN IF THEY REIMPOSE THE EMBARGO WEAPON TOMORROW - THEY WILL
STILL BE SUFFERING AN OIL SHORTAGE, THEIR HOMES WILL BE COLD
IN THE WINTER AND HOT IN SUMMER, LONG LINES WILL WAIT IN FRONT
OF EVERY GAS STATION; BUT IT WON'T BE ISRAEL'S FAULT*

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I CONSIDER THIS TO BE VERY IMPORTANT FROM ANOTHER ASPECT AS WELL. IF, HEAVEN FORBID, THE DANGER OF GREAT ANTI-SEMITISM THREATENS IN THE U.S., IT DERIVES FROM THIS CONNECTION BETWEEN AN OIL SHORTAGE AND ISRAEL. IF THE AMERICANS LINK UP THEIR ENERGY DEPENDENCE WITH ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE--THAT IS A VERY DANGEROUS SOURCE FOR THE EVOLUTION OF LARGE-SCALE ANTI-SEMITISM.

15. Q. WHAT DO THE ADMINISTRATION LEADERS SAY TO THAT?

16. A. I RECENTLY HEARD PROF. BRZEZINSKI'S EXPRESSION, WITH WHICH THE PRESIDENT ALSO AGREES: "WE SHALL NEVER SACRIFICE ISRAEL ON THE ALTAR OF OUR OIL REQUIREMENTS. THAT WOULD BE STUPID FROM THE POLITICAL ASPECT AS WELL AS IMMORAL FROM THE ASPECT OF AMERICAN VALUES."

IN THE FIRST PART OF HIS STATEMENT, BRZEZINSKI DISTINCTLY SAYS THAT EVEN IF THE U.S. WERE PREPARED TO SACRIFICE ISRAEL--DENYING PRINCIPLE,

MORALITY, PROMISES, SYMPATHIES AND ALL THE REST--IT WOULD BE STUPID TO ASSUME THAT SUCH A SACRIFICE COULD GUARANTEE AMERICAN INTERESTS IN OBTAINING ARAB OIL.

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17. Q. APART FROM PROF. BRZEZINSKI'S HESITANCY, AS YOU TERMED IT, DO

YOU STILL HEAR ANY DEFINITE REMARKS FROM ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS IN FAVOUR OF ESTABLISHING A PALESTINIAN STATE?

18. A. THE AMERICAN APPROACH, GENERALLY ACCEPTED BY ALL, IS ON THE LINES OF: "SOMETHING REALLY HAS TO BE DONE WITH REGARD TO THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION, IF THERE IS TO BE PEACE IN THE M.E." BEYOND THIS DEFINITION, OPINIONS DIFFER FROM WANTING AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE, TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE LINKED IN SOME WAY WITH JORDAN, OR AN INDEPENDENT STRIP OF LAND, AS AN INTEGRATED SECTION OF JORDAN.

19. Q. WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION LEADERS SPEAK OF DEFENCE BORDERS FOR ISRAEL, AFTER A WITHDRAWAL TO ALMOST THE 1967 BORDERS, AS THEY PUT IT, DO THEY SUGGEST, AS PART OF THE RETURN ISRAEL MAY EXPECT, AN AMERICAN GUARANTEE OF ISRAEL'S BORDERS, OR A SORT OF DEFENCE-PACT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL?

20. A. YES. WITHOUT ACTUALLY DETERMINING THE TYPE OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT OR THE NATURE OF THE PACT, OR ALLIANCE, THEY ACCOMPANY THEIR DEMAND FOR AN ISRAELI NEAR-TOTAL WITHDRAWAL, WITH A PLAN FOR A U.S. GUARANTEE, TO BE A PART OF WHAT THEY CALL DEFENCE BORDERS FOR

ISRAEL.

AND THIS IS THE POINT I AM MAKING WHEN I-AND OTHERS, TOO-
PRACTICALLY SCREAM INTO PROF. BRZEZINSKI'S FACE, AS WELL AS AT
OTHERS IN THE ADMINISTRATION, "WHATEVER YOU DO, DO NOT TURN ISRAEL
INTO A SECOND VIETNAM*" I EXPLAIN TO THEM HOW THIS LOOKS IN
THE EYES OF AN AMERICAN JEW, WHO CAN SEE ALL THE
DANGERS IN THEIR FULL EXTENT; "YOU WILL PUSH ISRAEL BACK, CONFINE
HER WITHIN NARROW AND DANGEROUS BORDERS", I TELL THEM, "THAT ARE NOT
DEFENSIBLE BORDERS. IF A PALESTINE STATE IS ESTABLISHED, AT ONLY A
FEW KMS DISTANCE FROM ISRAEL'S CENTRAL SETTLEMENTS, THEY CANNOT BE
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DEFENSIBLE BORDERS. YOU MUST ACCOMPANY THIS WITHDRAWAL BY AN
AMERICAN GUARANTEE, BECAUSE ISRAEL IS NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO
DEFEND HERSELF ON HER OWN. AN THEN, IF SHE IS ATTACKED,
WE, THE JEWS OF AMERICA, WILL HAVE TO COLLECT ON THE AMERICAN
PROMISSORY NOTE TO ISRAEL--THE OBLIGATION TO COME TO HER DEFENCE AND
RESCUE HER--AND THAT IS VIETNAM* VIETNAM EXACTLY* FOR YOU WILL
CLAIM THAT THE U.S. CANNOT
UNDERTAKE AN ACT OF WAR, JEOPARDISING WORLD PEACE, WITHOUT THE
APPROVAL OF CONGRESS, AND WE KNOW WHAT HAPPENED IN THE STATES AFTER
VIETNAM. GOING TO CONGRESS AND ASKING FOR MONEY FOR ISRAEL,
ARMS FOR HER DEFENCE, POLITICAL SUPPORT-THAT IS STILL POSSIBLE, EVEN
THOUGH IT, TOO, IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT. BUT TO
ASK CONGRESS TO APPROVE THE DESPATCH OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS
TO A WAR IN THE M.E., THOUSANDS OF KMS FROM THE U.S.-THAT IS
IMPOSSIBLE AND THE CHANCES PRACTICALLY NON-EXISTENT. WE WILL
BE HATED BY THE AMERICAN
NATION, AND ISRAEL, PUSHED INTO CRITICAL SITUATIONS AND, HEAVEN
FORBID, IN NEED OF THE AMERICAN BOYS TO COME TO HER RESCUE-WILL LOSE
EVERYTHING SHE HAS ATTAINED IN THE U.S. I SAID AS MUCH TO VICE
PRESIDENT MONDALE, AND I SHALL ALSO SAY IT TO PRESIDENT
CARTER SOON. I SHALL TELL THEM, "DO NOT MAKE ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE
DEPENDENT UPON AMERICAN GUARANTEES. YOU WILL NOT FORCE HER INTO
WITHDRAWING TO BORDERS WHERE SHE WOULD HAVE TO DEPEND ON THE U.S.
LET HER HOLD ON TO HER BORDERS, FROM WHICH SHE IS CAPABLE OF
DEFENDING HERSELF, AIDED BY ARMS AND SUPPORT FROM THE U.S."

21. Q. AND WILL THIS CONVINCE PRESIDENT CARTER AND PROF.
BRZEZINSKI, AND THE OTHERS?

22. A. WE ARGUE, AND THESE ARGUMENTS CAN BE FIERCE, EXCITABLE,
AGGRESSIVE, AND THERE IS NO CERTAINTY THAT AGREEMENT AND UNDERSTANDING

CAN BE REACHED, BUT THERE IS ONE THING I WANT TO CAUTION YOU ON,
AND CAUTION YOU VERY SERIOUSLY: WE MUST ON NO ACCOUNT TURN CARTER
AND BRZEZINSKI INTO ENEMIES* MAY THE HEAVENS WATCH OVER US IN THIS*
WE CAN ARGUE WITH THEM SHARPLY, BUT ON NO ACCOUNT WHATSOEVER TURN
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THEM INTO ENEMIES. OBJECTIVELY THIS IS OF COURSE NOT THE CASE. THEY ARE NOT ENEMIES. THEY ARE NOT ANTI-ISRAELI OR ANTI-JEWISH. THEY ARE GOOD FRIENDS. BUT THERE IS ANOTHER DANGER HERE, AND IN MY OPINION A GRAVE ONE. CLOSE FRIENDS OF THE PRESIDENT'S, WELL ACQUAINTED WITH HIS PERSONALITY, WARN ME OVER AND OVER AGAIN, "APART FROM THE FACT THAT THIS IS NOT TRUE OBJECTIVELY, CARTER IS A HIGHLY SENSITIVE MAN, AND IF YOU INVEST HIM WITH THE CLOAK OF AN ENEMY,

A HATER-HIS MOVES COULD BE MOST UNCOMFORTABLE FOR ISRAEL, TO SAY THE LEAST". I REALLY DO NOT THINK I NEED ADD ANY MORE.

23. Q. HOW, IN YOUR OPINION, WX HJR AND BRZEZINSKI AFFECTED BY THE LIKUD'S RISE TO POWER?

24. A. THEY WERE GREATLY SURPRISED. WHAT ASTONISHED THE WHITE HOUSE EVEN MORE THAN THE RISE OF THE LIKUD TO POWER, WAS THE REACTION OF ORGANISED U.S. JEWRY. CARTER FELT, AND EVEN SAID AS MUCH, IN PUBLIC, THAT U.S. JEWRY COULD INFLUENCE THE LIKUD GOVERNMENT AND SWAY IT IN A MORE MODERATE DIRECTION. THIS COULD BE DONE BY PUBLICLY DISSOCIATING THEMSELVES FROM THE LIKUD'S WAYS, AND STATING THAT THEY CANNOT SUPPORT THE LIKUD. THE WHITE HOUSE WAS SURPRISED AT THE DEMONSTRATION OF JEWISH SOLIDARITY AND PREPAREDNESS TO STAND BY ISRAEL.

25. Q. BY JEWISH (U.S.JEWRY'S) SUPPORT OF THE LIKUD?

26. A. I WANT TO BE BOTH CAREFUL AND LUCID. WHEN MENTION IS MADE OF DEFENCE BORDERS FOR ISRAEL, OF NON-WITHDRAWAL TO THE BORDERS OF JUNE 4, 1967 AND OF VIGOROUS OPPOSITION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE IN JUDEA,
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SAMARIA AND GAZA, THERE IS SOLIDARITY OF OPINION AND READINESS TO ACT ON THE PART OF THE AMERICAN JEWS. AS FAR AS THE FIGHT AGAINST THE ROGERS PLAN IS CONCERNED, WHICH IN ITS NEW VERSION IS NAMED THE "BROOKINGS REPORT", BOTH THE WHITE HOUSE AND ISRAEL CAN REST ASSURED THAT U.S. JEWRY WILL FIGHT WITH ALL THEIR STRENGTH, WITH ALL THEIR HEART AND SOUL, ALL THE DEVOTION AND BELIEF THEY CAN MUSTER, TO CONVINCE (THEM) THAT THIS IS A BAD PLAN, BOTH FOR ISRAEL AND FOR THE U.S.

BUT...YES, THERE IS A DISTINCT 'BUT' HERE: AMERICAN JEWS HAVE NOT BECOME LIKUD MEMBERS. BY NO MEANS. A VERY SMALL MINORITY AMONG THEM

SUPPORTS THE LIKUD, BUT BY NO MEANS A MAJORITY OF THE JEWS.
IF THE WHITE HOUSE EXPECTED THAT U.S. JEWS WILL GO AND
WHISPER IN BEGIN'S EAR, TELLING HIM NOT TO PUT UP ANY OPPOSITION
TO THE PLLNS WORKED OUT BY ZBIG AND CARTER-THE WHITE HOUSE WAS IN
FOR A SURPRISE AND...

27. Q. AND IF THE PRIME MINISTER EXPECTS U.S. JEWRY TO SUPPORT HIM
IN HIS PLANS FOR "A UNITED LAND OF ISRAEL" AND "NOT ONE INCH
IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA", IS HE, MR. BEGIN, IN FOR A SURPRISE?

28. A. WHY PUT IT LIKE THAT? WHY SHOULD WE EXACERBATE THE ARGUMENT
FROM WITHIN, BETWEEN JEWS IN ISRAEL AND JEWS IN THE U.S.? IS IT
TOPICAL? AND IF THERE IS A WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WEST BANK, WILL THE
ARABS WANT PEACE? THEY

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DO NOT WANT PEACE AND NO PEACE CAN BE ACHIEVED WITH THEM,
AT THIS TIME. THE ARABS
WILL NOT EVEN ACCEPT THE MODERATE ALLON PLAN AS A BASIS
FOR PEACE. IN MY OPINION BOTH CARTER AND BEGIN ARE MAKING THE
CONFLICT WORSE, PUSHING IT INTO THE CORNER THAT SAYS "NO SOLUTION",
AND INTO A STATE OF WAR. WHAT IS CARTER SAYING? FULL PEACE IN
RETURN FOR FULL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND THE ESTABLISHING OF
A PALESTINIAN STATE. AND WHAT DOES BEGIN SAY? FULL PEACE, IN EXCHANGE
FOR NON-WITHDRAWAL FROM ANY TERRITORY IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA. SO YOU
HAVE TWO IDEOLOGIES WHICH ONLY "MEET" AT THE TOP AND WHICH STRIVE TO
ACHIEVE THE PEACE THAT IS IMPOSSIBLE. A FEW DAYS AGO I SAID
AT THE WHITE HOUSE, "IF YOU PERSIST IN YOUR WAYS, WHEN IT IS
ABUNDANTLY CLEAR TO YOU THAT PEACE IS A "MISSION IMPOSSIBLE",
YOU WILL PUSH THIS REGION INTO ANOTHER WAR*"

29. Q. WHICH, THEN IS THE ROAD YOU HAVE ADOPTED?

30. A. THERE IS AN INTERIM SCENARIO THAT LIES BETWEEN THE IMPOSSIBLE-TO-ACHIEVE PEACE AND THE IMPOSSIBLE-TO-ENDURE WAR WHICH MUST BE PREVENTED- A SETTLEMENT THAT IS LESS THAN PEACE, IN RETURN FOR WHICH ISRAEL WILL BE COMMITTED TO PRAGMATIC SETTLEMENTS.

31. Q. IN OTHER WORDS, MORE KISSINGER-STYLE INTERIM SETTLEMENTS, UNCLASSIFIED

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WHICH DO NOT DEFINE THE MEANING OF PEACE, BUT COMMIT ISRAEL TO CONCEDE TANGIBLE ASSETS, TERRITORIES, IN RETURN... IN RETURN FOR WHAT, ACTUALLY, APART FROM THE ARABS' CONSENT TO ACCEPT TERRITORIES THEY WERE NOT ABLE TO CONQUER BY FORCE OF ARMS?

32. A. IN RETURN FOR A STATE OF NON BELLIGERENCY, BOTH SIDES MUST BE PREPARED FOR REASONABLE CONCESSIONS AND COMPROMISES. BUT THESE COMPROMISES AND CONCESSIONS ARE LESS THAN WHAT IS BEING DEMANDED OF BOTH SIDES IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE FULL PEACE, IF THAT WERE POSSIBLE. THE REALISTIC APPROACH IS, THAT SINCE SUCH A PEACE IS NOT POSSIBLE, THE REMAINING ALTERNATIVE IS EITHER WAR OR PRAGMATIC SETTLEMENTS OF THE TWO I PREFER THE SECOND, NOT ONLY BECAUSE IS IS GOOD IN ITSELF, BUT BECAUSE THE FIRST IS WAR, AND WAR IS FAR, FAR WORSE.

33. Q. DOES THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAVE A CRYSTALLIZED AND DETAILED PLAN FOR ACHIEVING PEACE IN THE M.E., AND WILL IT TRY TO IMPOSE IT ON US AND ON THE ARABS?

34. A. CRYSTALLIZED - YES. DETAILED - NO. ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS REPEATEDLY SAY THAT THEY HAVE AN OUTLINE FOR FULL PEACE, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES: DEFENCE BORDERS, FOR A TRANSITION PERIOD. A HOME FOR THE PALESTINIANS. ALMOST TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL TO THE BORDERS OF JUNE 4, 1967.

35. Q. IN THAT CASE, WHAT IS LACKING TO MAKE THIS A DETAILED PLAN AS WELL?

36. A. THE AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT THE ISSUE OF GUARANTEEING THE PALESTINIAN ENTITY - IN THE FORM OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE - OR, AS MOST WHITE HOUSE PEOPLE THINK, IN THE FORM OF A PALESTINIAN REGION AS PART OF THE STATE OF JORDAN- THAT IS A MATTER FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SIDES. THE SIDES MUST ALSO NEGOTIATE BROTHERS AND DEFENCE ARRANGEMENTS AND DECIDE ON TIME-TABLES FOR AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND ON THE MEANING OF A FULL PEACE TO PREVAIL BETWEEN THEM.

37. Q. AND WILL THEY ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE THIS PLAN ON ISRAEL? HOW?

38. A. I ASSUME THAT AT A CERTAIN STAGE, IF THE AMERICANS DISCOVER THEY HAD NOT MANAGED TO MAKE ISRAEL TAKE THE ROAD THEY THOUGHT BEST, THEY WILL TRY AND ACHIEVE THIS BY MEANS OF PRESSURE: SUSPENDING ARMS REQUESTS, WITHHOLDING FUNDS FOR ECONOMIC SUPPORT, AND OTHER WAYS.

39. Q. AND WHAT WILL AMERICAN JEWRY DO?

40. A. THEY WILL FIGHT AND STRUGGLE AND RAISE THEIR VOICES AND EXERCISE ALL THEIR POSSIBLE INFLUENCE TO PREVENT A COERCION OF THIS KIND, AND PROVE TO U.S. PUBLIC OPINION THAT THIS IS THE WRONG WAY, BOTH FOR ISRAEL AND THE U.S.

41. Q. AND IS THAT STILL POSSIBLE? HAS ISRAEL NOT LOST HER SPECIAL STATUS IN THE EYES OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN?

42. A. INTENSIVE SALES EFFORTS HAVE OF LATE BEEN MADE TO CONVINCE THE U.S. PUBLIC THAT THE ARABS HAVE SUDDENLY BECOME MORE MODERATE, PEACE-LOVING, AND READY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS - AS OPPOSED TO A TOUGHENING OF ISRAEL'S POSITIONS AND HER OBDURACY AND INTRANSIGENCE. PARTICIPATING IN GETTING THIS SALES MESSAGE ACROSS WERE NOT ONLY THE ARAB CAUSE PREACHERS, BUT ALSO THE MAJOR U.S. MEDIA, AND AT TIMES EVEN THE AUTHORISED ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN. A PART OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC "BOUGHT" THIS MESSAGE, AND AN EROSION OF ISRAEL'S STATUS IN THEIR EYES SET IN AS A RESULT. THERE IS SOME EROSION IN U.S. PUBLIC OPINION WHERE ISRAEL IS CONCERNED, AND IT WOULD BE FOOLISH TO DENY THIS OR REFUSE TO SEE IT IN ALL ITS GRAVITY. MORE AND MORE AMERICANS ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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ASKING THEMSELVES: "WHAT IS THIS LITTLE ISRAEL TO US? WHY NOT LIVE IN PEACE WITH ONE HUNDRED MILLION ARABS, WITH THEIR VAST BILLIONS OF DOLLARS, AND THEIR VITAL OIL RESOURCES?"

41. Q. DO YOU HAVE ANY ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS? TO THESE GRAVE DOUBTS?

44. A. WE MUST KEEP ON EXPLAINING TO THE AMERICANS, INCESSANTLY, IDEFATIGABLY, WITH ALL OUR STRENGTH, THAT A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE ISRAEL, WHICH HAS GONE THROUGH THE HELL OF BEING HATED BY ITS NEIGHBOURS, OF BLOODY WARS, AND WHICH NOW DEMANDS DEFENSIBLE BORDERS AND CONCRETE PROOF OF THE PEACEFUL INTENTIONS OF

ITS ENEMIES, AND IS ON NO ACCOUNT READY TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT
ITS FIERCEST ENEMY SETTLE IN AN EXTREMIST STATE OF ITS OWN,
ONLY A NUMBER OF KILOMETERS DISTANT FROM ITS POPULATION
CENTRES - CAN BY NO MEANS BE CONSIDERED RIGID AND UNCOMPROMISING.
THIS CAN BE EXPLAINED, AND THERE IS A CHANCE THAT THE AMERICANS,
WHO HAVE A BASIC SYMPATHY FOR ISRAEL, WILL UNDERSTAND.ISRAEL
IS VERY POPULAR IN THE UNITED STATES. WE MUST
FURTHER STRESS THAT FROM THE PONT OF VIEW OF THE NATIONAL
U.S. INTEREST IN THE M.E., THAT HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR ISRAEL'S
PRESENCE IN THE AREA, THESE U.S. INTERESTS WOULD HAVE BEEN LESS
PROTECTED THAN THEY ARE TODAY. I BELEIVE THAT. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT
WE CAN CONVINCE THE AMERICANS OF IT.
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